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NOTES ON DEIR EL-MEDINA

II THE CAREER OF PANEB

The career of the chief workman Paneb has been the subject of several studies.(1) There is no doubt that he succeeded to office on the violent death of his predecessor Neferhotep in years 1-5 of Sethos II, and he is last firmly attested in a year 2 which can only be that of Siptah (O. Cairo 25521). A Paneb also appears in O.DeM.594 which is dated to year 8 and indicates that the draughtsman Neferhotep was preparing tomb equipment for him.(2) Bierbrier has suggested that this year 8 might be ascribed to Tewosret.(3) However, Krauss has recently challenged this attribution by pointing out that this Paneb, who bears no title, need not have been the chief workman but conceivably could have been his likenamed son or nephew or that the ostrakon could be dated to year 8 of Merenptah before Paneb's appointment to the office of chief workman.(4) The first suggestion is not very likely as the other Panebs are not attested as workmen or recorded as being buried at Deir el-Medina. The fact that Paneb is not named as chief workman on this ostrakon might not be significant as shown by O. Cairo 25521 which also records work on Paneb's tomb and where he is entitled chief workman only once (verso line 14). Krauss's other suggestion that the year 8 could be that of Merenptah is more promising and has already been made independently by Janssen.(5) Paneb is attested as a workman from year 66 of Ramesses II and the surviving part of his tomb was prepared while he was still a workman.(6) The fact that in this case one workman would have been preparing the tomb of a fellow workman and not a superior is not surprising since payments for similar actions are recorded (O.De M.198; Hier. Ostr. 54, 2). The draughtsman Neferhotep would appear to have been in the work force from year 2 of Merenptah until year 2 of Siptah so his presence is not crucial to the dating. Since documentation is at present lacking for the reign of Merenptah and the end of the reign of Siptah, this ostrakon cannot be dated definitively although Krauss's suggestion seems likely.

The dating of the dismissal of Paneb is tied to the Salt papyrus 124 which presumably hastened his removal from office. Krauss has dated this document to years 1-2 of Siptah and it was certainly no later than year 2 of Sethnakhte since the workman Hesunebef and his wife Hunero, who are described as married in the Salt papyrus, were divorced in that year.(7) O.DeM.697 may or may not be relevant to the career of the chief workman Paneb. The recto bears the date of year 6 first month of peret and refers to the killing of a chief workman. The verso names the vizier Hori who appears to have taken up his appointment as southern vizier in year 1 of Siptah but may have been vizier in the north under Sethos II.(8) Now news of the death of Sethos II reached Thebes in his year 6 first month of peret day 19 (O. Cairo 25515 verso Column II lines 21-26). Thus it is possible that the recto of O.DeM.697 could be ascribed to the reign of Sethos II and the reference to the death of a chief workman would then point to Neferhotep ii who appears to have been

killed in the course of a civil disturbance between years 1-5 of Sethos II.(9) The verso of O.DeM.697 would have been written some weeks after when Hori had succeeded Pareemhab as southern vizier but may have been contemporary if Hori was acting as northern vizier. The reason for this reference at that time is unclear. The ostrakon could of course pertain to the reign of Siptah or Ramesses III, but again its context remains unclear.

However, Paneb probably continued in office beyond year 2 of Siptah as revealed by a series of ostraca which name Paneb and his fellow workmen some of whom, such as Pennub, Ruta, Khaemope, Iuny, and two Nakhtmins, do not appear in the dated ostraca of years 1-2 of Siptah (e.g. Hier. Ostr. 51, 1). Janssen dates these and related ostraca to late Siptah or even early Dynasty 20 although Krauss has challenged this dating.(10) O. Cairo 25793 should be dated to this period and not to the reign of Ramesses II as Krauss has suggested since Pennub, Ruta, and Iuny are here attested. It is thus conceivable that Paneb may have survived until close to the advent of Dynasty 20, but only the discovery of new dated documents from the end of the reign of Siptah and early Dynasty 20 will resolve the issue conclusively.

The career of Paneb's son Aapehti is closely tied to that of his father. He is attested in the work force under Sethos II (O. Cairo 25510 line 11) and in years 1-2 of Siptah (O. Cairo 25517-25519, 25521). At some time he was appointed deputy to his father and is so attested on B.M. stela 35630.(11) Cerny has suggested that this appointment should be dated after year 6 of Sethos II as in a year 6 two other deputies were attested with Paneb.(12) It seems reasonable to suppose that once appointed Aapehti remained in office until his father's dismissal. The deputy Aapehti appears together with his father Paneb on an offering table which was seen by Wilkinson at Thebes and is now lost.(13) The names of the recognized rulers of Dynasty 18 and Dynasty 19 up to Sethos II are incised on the table and thus it appears that Aapehti was appointed to the office of deputy under Sethos II. He was presumably deputy when he was beaten in year 1 of Siptah (O. Cairo 25518 recto lines 5-6; O. Cairo 25517 line 6), and it would appear that his fellow workmen did not take his rank too seriously. From an offering-table in Turin, it would appear that he had a son presumably about this time.(14) Thus he was probably at least in his twenties when he was termed sri in year 1 of Siptah (O. Cairo 25518 recto lines 5-6). He was presumably removed from office at the same time as his father and disappears from the community.

NOTES

1. J. Černý, A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period (Cairo, 1973), 301-305; M.L. Bierbrier, The Late New Kingdom in Egypt (Warminster, 1975), 22-23; R. Krauss, SAK 4 (1976), note 24, 172-174.
2. S. Sauneron, Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el-Médineh (Cairo, 1959), pl. 22.
3. Bierbrier, op. cit., 23.
4. Krauss, SAK 4 (1976), 174.
5. J. Janssen, Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period (Leiden, 1975), 86.
6. J. Černý, Répertoire onomastique de Deir el-Médineh (Cairo, 1949), Tomb 211, 87-90.
7. K.A. Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions V (Oxford, 1970), No. 2, 1-2. I wish to thank Dr. J. Janssen for this observation.
8. W. Helck, Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs (Leiden, 1958), 328-329.
9. Černý, Community, 290.
10. Janssen, op. cit., 18-19; Krauss, SAK 5 (1977), 159-162.
11. B. Porter and R. Moss, Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings I 2nd. ed. (Oxford, 1964), ii, 717.
12. Černý, Community, 136.
13. Porter and Moss, op. cit., 743-744. The titles of Paneb and his son are wrongly given as servants in the Place of Truth. I wish to express my thanks to the Trustees of the Griffith Institute and to Dr. J. Malek for permission to consult Wilkinson MSS. xvii. F.d. 15.
14. L. Habachi, Tavole d'Offerta, Are e Bacili da Libagione (Turin, 1977), No. 22037, 45-48.